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ABSTRACT

Examining school board elections in Tucson, Arizona, the study focused on the extent to which voters preferred candidates of their own racial/ethnic background, the socio-political factors affecting the voters' preferences, and the degree of voter polarization among Chicano and Anglo voters. Data were derived from the Pima County Election Bureau, and the U.S. Bureau of the Census for Spanish-surname populations. Individual precincts served as the unit of analysis as election data were matched with corresponding demographic characteristics of census tracts. Only those representative precincts in which Chicanos were the dominant residential group and where Anglos exceeded 90% of the precinct were included in the analysis. The 1972 and 1974 school board election years were used since these years were spotlighted by a "greater concern for minority representation and minority perspectives on educational policies". Among the findings were that: in both elections the Chicano candidates secured their largest percentage of votes in Chicano precincts; the degree of Chicano preference for Chicano candidates in 1974 was more pronounced than Anglo support for Anglo candidates; the interplay of socioeconomic status, partisanship and ethnicity reaffirmed the tendency toward polarization of voters; the impact of partisanship had a diminishing effect on Anglo candidate support, yet it was a significant factor for Chicano candidates' votes. (NQ)

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An Analysis of Chicano and Anglo Electoral Patterns in School Board Elections

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ABSTRACT

An increase in the number of Chicanos seeking public office focuses concern on the kind of effort Chicano candidates pursue and the response pattern of Anglo voters. For this study, examining school board elections in urban Arizona, the chief research questions are the degree of voter polarization, the socio-political factors affecting voters' preferences, and the distinctiveness of Anglo and Chicano bloc voting. The results have definite implications for successful electoral strategies.

An Analysis of Chicano and Anglo Electoral Patterns in School Board Elections

The recent upsurge of interest in Chicano activities and general raising of ethnic consciousness have resulted in the an increase in number of Chicanos seeking public office. This study, examining school board elections in Tucson, Arizona, focuses on three research points: 1) the extent to which voters prefer candidates of their own racial/ethnic background; 2) the socio-political factors affecting these voters' preferences; and 3) the degree of voter polarization among Chicano and Anglo voters.

The school board election constitutes an important political event for a Chicano community[1]. The educational systems have been criticized for their neglect of ethnic children, for inferior facilities, for monolingual-monocultural curricula, for poor quality education, for lack of policy representation, and perhaps also because the schools affect Chicano parents daily through their children. For these reasons, the educational arena has become politicized. The outcome of this new consciousness includes school walkouts, demands for bilingual-bicultural programs, legal action, and increased electoral attempts among Chicanos to win school board seats[2]. This politicization at the Chicano community level makes relevant an investigation of the general climate of electoral competition between Anglos and Chicanos, particularly in non-partisan elections[3].

Chicano/Anglo Electoral Activity: Background Perspective

Three key factors shed light on the electoral competition between the Anglo and Chicano communities: 1) the degree of Chicano electoral activity; 2) the impact which non-partisan elections have had on Chicano candidate preference and turnout; 3) the interplay of non-partisan elections on candidate preference and turnouot.

Chicano Electoral Activity

Recent literature has suggested some prevalent voter participation patterns among Chicanos. The three major findings characterizing their political participation include 1) lower rates of political participation than other population groups, 2) a continuous allegiance to the Democratic party[4], and 3) a high level of polarization or voter preferences by Chicano voters for Chicano candidates[5]. Chicano electoral behavior also shows lower registration and turnout rates than that of Anglos and blacks[6].

Chicano participation in elections has been diminished by structural barriers. The use of literacy tests, annual registration requirements, poll taxes, gerrymandering, and at-large elections has effected a formidable barrier for potential Chicano voters. McClesky and Nimmo observed a much lower rate of registration for Mexican-Americans than for Anglos or blacks, particularly under the poll tax system[7]. Alan Shinn's study notes no significant correlation between

registration and turnout; yet in other years studies have shown a positive correlation between registration and percent of Spanish surname population[8].

Socio-economic status and attitudinal dispositions toward government and its agents further impede political involvement. Such participation usually increases as individuals attain higher levels of socio-economic status[9]. The disproportionate number of Chicanos occupying lower socio-economic status affects participation levels negatively[10]. In addition, attitudinal dispositions of cynicism, alienation, and efficacy toward the political system have restricted participation. Studies such as Grebler, Guzman and Moore[11], and Comer, Steinman, and Welch[12] indicate that negative feelings toward government (cynicism, alienations, and inefficacy) tend to retard motivations for actively engaging in the political process[13].

The second major characteristic of Chicanc political activity is the strong association with the Democratic party. Although this association is traditional and has affected major elections (i.e., presidential elections), Chicanos have been excluded in the decision-making processes of the party. The lack of personal involvement and absence of a strong sense of identification with the Democratic party have not encouraged political consciousness among Chicanos. On the other hand, the La Raza Unida Party, with policies closer to the reality of most Chicanos, might possibly succeed in lessening Democratic ties[15], thus inviting more Chicanos into active political participation.

The third major characteristic of Chicano political activity relates to the polarization of voters. The rise of ethnic consciousness among Chicanos has perpetuated bloc voting and, at times, increased Anglo political activity to compensate for Chicano votes. For example, Raul Castro's first attempt for the Arizona governorship received the overwhelming majority of Chicano votes although the turnout in Chicano precincts was twenty-two percentage points lower than the statewide turnout[16]. Thus Castro's defeat in 1970 can be attributed to a lower than expected turnout among Chicanos whose support of his candidacy was strong and a higher than anticipated voter turnout of those not in favor of a Mexican-American governor.

The increasing significance of ethnic identification on Chicano voter preference is confirmed by two studies. Daniel Valdes' panel analysis of Hispanic-voters' support indicated a positive correlation between identification, interest, and intent to vote for Hispanic candidates[17]. The intensity of ethnicity served as a political stimulus for following campaigns as well as turning out to vote.

Rudolph de la Garza's aggregate voting study of bi-cultural El Paso examined Chicano voting patterns. He noted that the percentage of votes Mexican-American candidates received was affected largely by the total number of votes cast in the Mexican-American precincts. Negative correlations existed between Meixcan-American precincts and turnout[18]. Thus, the presence of voter polarization exists, yet low turnout points out the need to mobilize the Chicano community effectively.

The Impact of Non-Partisan Elections on Chicano Voting

Non-partisan elections, elections with emphasis on local issues, are of great importance and relevance to the Chicano voter. Non-partisan ballots have shown the second major influence on the Chicano voter as indicated by voter polarization and voting turnout patterns. In the absence of party labels for candidates, partisan cues have been replaced by ethnic ones. Pomper's study of Newark's local elections indicates that ethnic groups vote disproportionately for their fellow ethnic candidates[19]. Candidates utilize ethnic symbols and cues in their campaigns, thereby reinforcing social cleavages[20]. Similarly, a mock-election of Polish voters indicated that when party labels are removed, ethnicity is a better discriminator than party identification for voters' preferences[21]. Ethnicity has become institutionalized into the political life of many American communities.

The final consideration regarding non-partisanship relates to "class bias." Non-partisan elections diminish lower-class and minority voter participation[22]. This results, of course, in Republicans benefiting from non-partisan and at-large elections[23]. As local elections continue to be salient for minorities and as greater numbers of Chicano candidates seek elective office, the inter-play of Chicano political participation, type of elections, and Anglo response patterns work as critical factors in affecting electoral outcomes.

Electoral activity among Chicanos, the reaction of Anglos to

political involvement, and the ethnic loyalty displayed in non-partisan elections all serve as background to this study. With this foundation in mind, we may now proceed to examine Chicano electoral activity in two school board elections in an attempt to gain insight into three questions. First, what is the extent of voters' preferences for candidates of their own racial/ethnic background? Second, what are the important socio-political variables that affect voter preferences and turnout? Third, are the group behavioral patterns of Chicano and Anglos voters distinct?

Chicano Electoral Activity and School Board Elections

Research Design

The setting for this study is Tucson, Arizona. The major school district in the metropolitan area is the largest in the state and reflects the major composition of the state's residents--Anglos, Chicanos, blacks and native Americans. Competition for representation on the school board has been increasing among the Chicano community and they have had some successes in other elections such as city council, county board of supervisors and the state legislature. In other ways, Tucson is representative of other Southwestern urban areas which are experiencing significant growth and have a sizeable minority community, particularly Chicano.

The use of aggregate data enables the researcher to focus on the political entity of county precincts, as well as the group voting patterns of Anglos and Chicanos. This study has more of an environmental[24] rather than attitudinal context regarding Chicano voting patterns. The advantage of using aggregate data is that it makes possible the analysis of trends for successive elections or larger periods of time[25] which can be important in examining the long term affects of Chicano voting behavior. In this case, two successive school board elections were examined.

Data for this research were derived from the Pima County (Arizona) Election Bureau, and the U.S. Bureau of the Census for Spanish surname populations[26]. Individual precincts served as the unit of analysis as election data were matched with corresponding demographic characteristics of census tracts. The selection of key Chicano and anglo precincts was determined by the concentration of each group throughout the county precincts. Only those representative precincts in with Chicanos were the dominant residential group and where Anglos exceeded 90% of the precinct were included in the analysis[27]. The school board election years utilized in the study were 1972 and 1974.

The Chicano population of Tucson comprises 25-30% of the city's residents[28]. A total of eighteen Chicano and fourteen Anglo precincts was selected. A range of 43.0% to 84.7% Chicano and a range of three to 8.2 per cent Spanish surname population in Anglo precincts was discovered[29]. As substantiated by special reports by the U.S. Census Bureau,[30] the socio-economic

gap between Anglo and Chicanos is reflected in the Tucson data (see Table 1). The Tucson Chicano community exhibits relatively low to medium socio-economic characteristics compared to Anglos. The median educational level was 9.1 years (12.95 for Anglos); the median income was $7098 ($10,575 Anglos); and only 7.8% Chicanos were employed in white-collar occupations (68.9% Anglos).

Polictically, the Anglo precincts tend to be more competitive in party registration. Anglo precincts average forty-five percent Democratic registration whereas Chicano precincts surpass seventy per cent in both election years. Another noteworthy characteristic is the variation in the number of persons registered each election year. Although both groups of precincts fluctuated significantly, their directional change is different. The Anglo precincts had an average registration increase of 11.4% per precinct vs. a 14.2% decrease for Chicano precincts. A final difference lies in voter turnout rates. A fourteen point difference exists in the 1972 school board election, and an eight point gap in 1974, in which Anglos have higher turnout rates.

Racial/Ethnic Background and Voter Preference

Tucson School Board elections of 1972 and 1974 were of particular significance for several reasons. Although the Board was elected at-large and on a non-partisan basis, a 1971 Arizona law changed the time of school elections to coincide with the general elections for state and federal offices. As a result,

the number of votes necessary to win office would be substantially higher than in the previous off-year elections. In addition, the impact of partisanship undoubtedly would have some affect on school board elections as coterminous elections stimulate greater interest and turnout. A final background note on Tucson school board elections is that only one person with a Spanish surname[31] had ever been elected to the school board.

The school elections of 1972 and 1974 were spotlighted by a greater concern for minority representation and minority perspectives on educational policies. The Chicano candidate in 1972 pursued a barrio-oriented campaign, as well as stressing community control of schools. Between elections recent school board decisions had increased Chicano interest in the educational arena. Two key issues surfaced in the fall of 1973 and the following year. The school district decided to closed two inner city schools as part of an austerity program. The schools, predominantly Mexican-American, were the scene of intense activity by Chicano parents to reverse that decision, as well as seek greater consultation before key issues was voted. Secondly, the Association of Mexican-American Educators were working closely with the School District to develop more bi-lingual programs as well as dealing with the issues of equality of educational opportunity and proposed bussing. Shortly after the closing was delayed, a class action suit was filed by Mexican-American parents contesting the inequality of educational opportunity for Chicano children[32]. In the 1974 school board

election, the availability of two seats and a large field of Anglo candidates, together with increased community awareness, provided an opportunity for a Chicano to win a seat on the school board[33].

With this background of the Tucson school situation, an examination of voters' preferences in Anglo and Chicano precincts in the 1972 and 1974 elections reveals some distinct variations. In both elections (see Table 2) the Chicano candidates secured their largest percentage of votes in Chicano precincts. Grijalva, the unsuccessful Chicano candidate, in 1972 fared a very distant third in votes received in Anglo precincts (8.9%), yet in 1974 he was much more successful in attracting Anglo votes (23.8%), and won one of the vacant seats. Thus a winning strategy entailed a strong margin of support in barrio precincts as well as establishing sizeable in-roads into Anglo voting preferences. This concentration of voter support among members of the candidate's background indicates a polarizing effect.

From this standpoint of polarization, it is interesting to note that the degree of Chicano preference for Chicano candidates (50.2%) in 1974 was more pronounced than Anglo support for Anglo candidates (a high of 34.5%). That is, Chicanos showed a greater degree of voting support for the Chicano candidate, as opposed to their Anglo voting counterparts for the Anglo candidates. Voting polarization tends to follow clusters of voting support along racial and ethnic lines.

In order to explore further the extent of polarization of

voters, each pair of candidates was examined in accordance with the Spearman rho coefficients (see Table 3). The use of Spearman rho coefficients illustrates the degree of congruence of voters' preferences as well as direction, for each pair of candidates. Compatible pairs of candidates would have high positive correlations.

The evidence of polarization is quite pronounced in the 1972 election. One can see the strong negative correlation that exists when non-Chicano candidates are involved with a Chicano candidate (Grijalva) in the Chicano precincts (i.e., -.84 Downing-Grijalva/ -.77 Tom-Grijalva). Similarly, a negative correlation exists when Grijalva is paired with non-Chicano candidates in the Anglo precincts (-.37 Tom-Grijalva). (See table 3)

The 1974 election produced similar results in Chicano precincts. Positive correlations exist with each pair of Anglo candidates, and equally with pairs of Chicano candidates, more so in the Chicano precincts. The degree of polarization in Anglo precincts is most pronounced among the leading Anglo candidates (Downing and incumbent Hafley =.71) and the two Chicanos (Grijalva and Lopez .64 in Chicano precincts). That is, correlation with all pairs of Anglo candidates did not reveal a pervasive pattern of voter polarization. Interestingly enough, an informal coalition of liberal Anglo candidate Fogel with Grijalva did not produce visible payoffs for this pair. The evidence, therefore, strongly suggests identifiable voter preference among Chicano and Anglo voters. (See table 3)

Another surprising fact is that the Chicano voter preference affected all of the Chicano candidates, while Anglo preferences affected only the leading "status quo"[34] Anglo candidates and Chicano contenders. Part of this pattern may be attributable to the long absence of Chicanos on the school board, as well as there being relatively few Chicano candidates over the years. Thus the absence of electoral success may have heightened Chicano preferences for all Chicano candidates.

While racial/ethnic background and voting preferences constitute an important element in understanding Chicano electoral activity, there are other factors that need to be explored. A second important consideration lies with the socio-demographic factors that underlie support for the various candidates. What, for instance is the significance of the associations of class, ethnicity, and party affiliation with votes cast for Chicano or Anglo candidates?

Socio-Political Variables and Chicano and Anglo Voting Preferences

In the 1972 election, several distinct patterns appeared within the Chicano precincts. Socio-economic status[35] had positive effects with non-Chicanc candidates, positive correlations of .72 and .73. (see table 4). Most of Grijalva's support came from low socio-economic status voters (-.69). In addition, the positive effect of percent Spanish surname with votes cast for Grijalva further establishes a voter polarization

pattern (.60). The pattern persists in the Anglo precincts as socio-economic status and turnout rates are related positively with Anglo candidates (r's of .35 and .51 respectively) and partisanship (% Democratic/precinct) is related significantly with votes for Grijalva (.66). In the case of incumbent S. Tom, turnout is related positively and significantly (.51). In both groups of precincts, turnout is negatively related with votes for Grijalva.

The 1974 election produced even more pronounced patterns of party, socio-economic status, and ethnicity. Socio-economic status was clearly a factor in votes for Downing, Grijalva, and incumbent Hafley (see table 5). Votes for the Chicano candidates and socio-economic status were related negatively reflecting a stronger base of support from the lower socio-economic strata of the Chicano community; yet this pattern was more pronounced for Grijalva in Chicano precincts. On the other hand Anglo candidates had positive correlations with socio-economic status in both groups of precincts-(r's=.39 & .41).

The effects of partisanship in Chicano precincts played a major role for each of the candidates. For the Chicano candidates, Democratic registration was related positively, while the opposite effect existed for Chicanos in the Anglo precincts (-.57 & -.61). The significance of partisanhip was greater for Lopez than any other candidate for both groups of precincts. The impact of ethnicity acted much the same as party in Chicano precincts for Grijalva and Lopez. At the same time, negative

correlations of per cent Spanish surname and Anglo candidates was significant.

The final aspect of voter preference in these precincts lies in the turnout correlations with each of the candidates. Similar to the 1972 election, turnout in 1974 was negatively associated with votes cast for Chicano candidates and positively related to votes for Anglo candidates. The pattern that emerges illustrates the distinctiveness of lower socio-economic status support for Chicano and higher socio-economic status for Anglo candidates, and the positive effects of ethnicity for Chicano candidates in barrio precincts. In addition, the impact of party registration is strongly related, in a positive direction, with Chicano candiates. Although lower socio-economic voters support Chicano candidates, the interplay of class and turnout come to bear. As turnout is related to increases in socio-economic status, the Anglo candidates' support is reflected by positive associations with turnout, but a negative association exists with Chicano candidates.

The Pervasiveness of Voter Polarization Between Anglos and Chicanos

Since group preference for candidates of their own background has been established, as well as the relative importance of class, ethnicity and party affiliation, the final inquiry deals with the pervasiveness of bloc voting among Anglos and Chicanos. As Chicanos increasingly engage in political campaigns, as

improvements are made in their socio-economic status, and as salient issues are clearly defined, one might expect ethnic voting clusters to decrease. The wave of ethnic politics could be replaced by more salient factor of class, partisanship and party identification. In order to assess the persistence of ethnicity in non-partisan elections, the use of multiple discriminant analysis was selected to test the validity of the assumption that Chicanos and Anglo voters behave as distinct groups[36]. Discriminant analysis serves to examine the selection of these groups and determine whether the individuals in the defined groups were correctly classified. Discriminant coefficients indicate which independent variables discriminate between the groups, as well as their relative contribution. Finally, this technique is useful in this study because: its multivariate capability allows for the accounting of covariation among explanatory or discriminatory variables; it can handle a large number of groupings; and the significance of each discriminant function for each variable can be evaluated separately.

The discriminant analyses of the 1972 and 1974 elections verify the distinct nature of Chicano and Anglo voting patterns. In the analyses, all of the candidates were included to examine the pervasiveness of any bloc voting. As a result, 93.3% and 100% of the cases were correctly classified in the respective elections. That is, the precincts that were identified as Chicano or Anglo precincts voted as two distinct groups. The centroids for each election also reflected the different spatial

location for the two groups of precincts. (see table 6) The centroids are at opposite polar positions (1.66 for Chicanos vs. -1.89 for Anglos in 1972) illustrating the distinct and polarized voting preferences for these two groups. The standard discriminant coeffficient is strongest for Grijalva and in the direction of the Chicano centroid location. Incumbent Tom's candidacy was not only strong in Anglo precincts, but able to make a good showing (averaging 32.9) in the Chicano precincts.

Because Chicano and Anglo voting patterns persisted through 1974, greater credence can be given comparing this bloc voting pattern in other electoral contexts. Chicano voters do behave differently than Anglos, and ethnicity still serves as a salient force in candidate support. The variation of class and party influences suggest factors that may also be creating these differences. That is, even in non-partisan elections, the effect of partisanship is significant when coterminous elections are held (i.e., state, federal, and school) particularly for Chicano voters.

Chicano and Anglo Voters: Conclusions and Implications

The examination of Chicano and Anglo voting patterns in school board elections produced several distinct patterns for the two groups of voters. At the outset three research questions were posed. The issue relating to voter preference clearly revealed a distinct pattern for each set of voters. Chicano

voters indicated a slightly greater degree of support for their own candidates than Anglos. Nevertheless, a discernible pattern of voters' preference was evident as each group voted for candidates of similar ethnic background.

With reference to the second question, the interplay of socio-economic status, partisanship and ethnicity reaffirmed the tendency toward polarization of voters, as well as the differentiated impact of each of these variables for Anglos and Chicanos. Although school board elections are non-partisan, the spillover effect of coterminous elections has particular importance for Chicano voters. The impact of partisanship had a diminishing effect on Anglo candidate support, yet it was a significant factor for the Chicano candidates' votes. Interestingly, partisanship was more important for Lopez's voters than Grijalva's. This may suggest different lines of support for Chicano candidates within the Chicano community[37]. The data confirm this finding.

Class may also be posited as an important consideration in non-partisan elections. Class was a significant variable for both Anglo and Chicano candidates, yet its directional impact was opposite as it correlated positively with Anglo candidates and negatively with Chicanos. As Chicano voters continued to cast their votes for Chicano candidates, the variation of turnout (and its negative relation) created problems for successful campaigns. The drop-off between registration and turnout posed concerns for leadership and mobilization where voter intensity, issue

crystallization and group consciousness should act to close the gap.

Finally, the utilization of discriminant analysis reaffirms the previous research findings of voter preferences, as the voting patterns of Chicanos and Anglos were quite distinct. Their patterns followed separate paths in the same way that each candidate had a unique impact on each group. The persistence of this group pattern suggests that ethnicity and probably different perspectives on issues and candidates are salient forces in the electoral arena. Interestingly, the political activity of Chicanos in city, county and state races have produced a sizeable number of elected officials. Yet the evidence of polarization in a relatively open, competitive political system suggests that district composition is crucial for these electoral successes and that at-large elections perpetuate the problem of ethnic voting for Chicanos. The larger arena of electoral competition, coupled with a significant yet numerically moderate sized minority population alters the strategies, resources and types of candidates involved in at-large elections[38].

The implication of these findings suggests the need for further systematic investigations regarding the relationship of minority mobilization with majority group responses, as well as some longitudinal analysis of Chicano voting patterns. A salient factor in minority-majority relations is the size of the Chicano population in the respective communities. Group size can affect the extent of voter mobilization, expectancies of success, range

of alternatives, extent of resources and intensity of incentives[39]. Thus varieties of strategies may emerge that are dependent on the Chicano concentration in that community. Similarly, we might expect higher degrees of success when Chicanos are 30-40% (approximately) of the total population, as mobilization becomes easier and competition is established. The more difficult situation lies with a small ethnic population having little opportunity to mobilize or develop resources upon which to build a political base. Thus examination of Chicano political power may uncover increased minority mobilization activiating increased Anglo mobilization, or the pattern may be one of oscillation with between success and failure.

The pervasiveness of polarization may be a short term phenomenon or an enduring one. Although ethnicity is a salient force, it does not explain all of the variance for turnout and voter preference for Chicano candidates. The use of survey research might explore the degree of ethnic identification, salience of specific issues, and the extent of campaign organizational contact to measure their effect on voter turnout and intensity. The pattern of increased numbers of Chicano candidates in future election will necessitate a winning strategy that effectively mobilizes the Chicano community, restricts the field of Chicano candidates for each office, and either neutralizes Anglo voters or secures a reasonable share of Anglo votes. The style of campaigning may also play an increasingly important role here. Thus the concerns of Chicano electoral

activity will continue to be a key political phenomenon in broadening our perspective on the long term impact of Chicano voting behavior.

TABLE 1

Demographic and Political Characteristics of Chicano and Anglo Precincts* in Tucson (Arizona) School District

Characteristic	Mean for Chicano Precincts (n=16)	Range for Chicano Precincts	Mean for Anglo Precincts (n=14)	Range for Anglo Precincts
Party Affiliation				
%Democratic Registration '72	75.2	58.7-86.3	45.3	34.4-51.4
%Democratic Registration '74	74.1	58.9-84.6	45.9	36 -52.1
%Change in Voter Registration 1972-1974	-14.2	-52.7-(-1.9)	11.4	-4.7-48.2
Socio-Economic Status Index				
Educational Attainment	9.1	6.9-11.5	12.95	12.5-13.7
Type of Employment				
%White-Collar Occupation	7.8	6.9-11.5	68.9	46.4-79.7
%Blue-Collar Occupation	47.9	31.9-59.8	14.6	5.2-20.2
Income	$7098	4621-8798	10575	7515-13624
Voting Turnout				
Turnout 1972	52.6	33-66	66.1	56-74
Turnout 1974	56.7	44-69	64.1	52-73

*A Chicano precinct is defined as one which has a minimum of 50% Spanish surnamed residents. An Anglo precinct is defined as one which has a maximum of 5% minority residents.

TABLE 2

Percentage of Votes Cast for Major Candidates in 1972 & 1974 School Board Election by Anglo and Chicano Precincts.

Candidates	Chicano Precincts		Anglo Precincts	
1972	Mean%	Range	Mean%	Range
S. Downing	12.7	5.1-22.8	27.1	22.3-33.3
R. Grijalva	46.9	27.3-72.9	8.9	4.5-14.5
S. Tom**	32.9	18.4-46.3	50.2	39.2-56.9
1974***				
S. Downing	15.0	5.8-33.7	34.1	26.6-41.0
G. Fogel	9.2	3.6-21.6	19.1	11.2-24.2
R. Grijalva*	50.2	30.0-75.7	23.8	19.1-29.0
H. Hafley**	19.0	10.0-27.4	34.5	25.9-41.3
A. Lopez	38.8	7.2-53.8	15.0	12.3-20.3

*Elected in 1974 to be only the second Spanish surname individual to serve on the Tucson School Board.

**Incumbents who were re-elected for another term on the School Board.

***In 1974, two seats were vacant for the Tucson School Board.

TABLE 3

Spearman Rho's Coefficients for Pairs of School Board Candidates by Chicano and Anglo Precincts

Candidate Pairs	Chicano Precincts	Anglo Precincts
1972		
Downing - Grijalva	-.84*	.09
Downing - Tom	.68*	-.32***
Grijalva - Tom	-.77*	-.37**
1974		
Downing - Fogel	.71*	-.01
Downing - Grijalva	-.54*	-.13
Downing - Hafley	.78**	.71*
Downing - Lopez	-.45***	-.46**
Fogel - Grijalva	-.29***	-.02
Fogel - Hafley	.55**	.05
Fogel - Lopez	-.42**	-.13
Grijalva - Hafley	-.36**	-.02
Grijalva - Lopez	.64*	.08
Hafley - Lopez	-.38**	-.57**

*Significant at the .001 level.
**Significant at the .005 level.
***Significant at the .01 level.

TABLE 4

Pearsonian Coefficients Between Major School Board Candidates (1972) and Socio-Political Variables for Anglo and Chicano Precincts

	Chicano Precincts		
Socio-Political Variables	Downing	Grijalva	Tom
SES	.72*	-.69**	.73*
% Democratic/Precinct	-.34	.34	-.30
% Spanish surname	-.62**	.60**	-.60*
Turnout Rate	.30	-.16	.09
	Anglo Precincts		
SES	-.36	-.64**	.35
% Democratic/Precinct	.27	.66**	-.25
% Spanish Surname	-.05	.01	-.05
Turnout Rate	.12	-.76*	.51***

*Significant at the .001 level.
**Significant at the .005 level.
***Significant at the .01 level.

TABLE 5

Pearsonian Coefficients Between Major School Board Candidates (1974) and Socio-Political Variables for Anglo and Chicano Precincts

Candidates	Socio-Political Variables			
Chicano Precincts	SES	%Democrat/ Precinct	Turnout	%Spanish Surname
S. Downing	.79**	-.79*	.54***	-.82*
G. Fogel	.18	-.78*	.18	-.66**
R. Grijalva	-.40***	.61**	-.40	.53***
H. Hafley	.42	-.59**	.42	-.59***
A. Lopez	-.08	.87*	-.08	.51***
Anglo Precincts				
S. Downing	.39	-.57**	.66**	.42
G. Fogel	-.17	.23	.18	-.29
R. Grijalva	-.47***	+.33	-.30	-.05
H. Hafley	.41***	-.65**	.70*	.03
A. Lopez	-.61**	.61**	-.72*	-.15

*Significant at .001 level.
**Significant at .005 level.
***Significant at .01 level.

TABLE 6

Discriminant Analysis of Voting Preferences for School Board Elections-1972 and 1974 for Chicano and Anglo Precincts

Elections	Standardized Discriminant Coefficients	% of Cases Correctly Classified
1972		
S. Downing	-.93	93.3%
R. Grijalva	1.37	
R. Hall	-.03	
A. Spaletto	-.09	
S. Tom	.30	
Canonical correlation = .88 X^2 = 39.0 00.0		
Centroids - Chicano precincts = 1.66		
Anglo precincts =-1.89		
1974		
S. Downing	-1.43	100%
G. Fogel	.45	
G. Gault	.29	
R. Grijalva	.48	
H. Hafley	.81	
E. Kahn	.13	
S. Lehrling	.75	
A. Lopez	-2.12	
R. Waite	.25	
Canonical correlations = .93 X^2 = 49.54 00.0		
Centroids for Chicano precincts = -2.41		
Anglo precincts = 2.41		

FOOTNOTES

1 See Carter, Thomas Mexican-Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect. New York: College Entrance Examination Board; 1970. Ramirez, Manuel and Alfredo Casteneda Cultural Democracy, Bi-Cognitive Development and Education. New York: Academic Press: 1974.

2 Moore, Joan Mexican-Americans, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, p. 76-83. Lopez y Rivas, Gilberto. The Chicanos. New York. Monthly Review Press, pp. 43-57.

3 Pomper, Gerald "Ethnic and Group Voting in Non-Partisan Elections" Public Opinion Quarterly 30 (Spring, 1966) p. 97.

4 Levy, Mark and Michael Kramer The Ethnic Factor, New York: Simon and Schuster Inc.; 1973, p. 73.

5 de la Garza, Rudolph "Voting Patterns in Bi-Cultural El Paso-a Contextual Analysis of Mexican-American Voting Behavior: in F. Chris Garcia (ed.) La Causa Politica. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press; 1974, p. 256.

6 Shinn, Allen "A Note on Voter Registration and Turnout in Texas, 1960-1970" Journal of Politics 33 (November, 1971), pp. 1120-1129.

7 McClesky, Clifton and B. Merrill "Mexican-American Political Behavior in Texas" Social Science Quarterly vol. 53 (March, 1973), pp. 785-799.

8 Shinn, op. cit., p. 1125.

9 Verba, Sidney and Norman Nie Participation in America. New York: Harper and Row; 1972, pp. 125-137.

10 Levy and Kramer, op. cit., p. 76.

11 Grebler, Leo, et al., The Mexican-American People. New York: The Free Press, 1970, p. 567.

12 Welch, Susan, J. Comer and M. Steinman, "Political Participation Among Mexican-Americans: An Exploratory Examination" Social Science Quarterly vol. 53 (March, 1973), pp. 799-813.

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14 Levy & Kramer, op. cit., pp. 77-79.

15 Juarez, Alberto "The Emergence of El Partido de la Raza Unida: California's New Chicano Party" Aztlan: Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences, 3 (Fall, 1973) pp. 177-203.

16 Levy & Kramer, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

17 Valdes, Daniel A Sociological Analysis and Description of the Political Role, Status and Voting Behavior of Americans with Spanish Names. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University microfilms; 1964, p. 5.

18 de la Garza, op. cit., p. 259.

19 Pomper, op. cit., p. 79-98.

20 Ibid., pp. 89-90.

21 Lorinskas, Robert, et al., "The Persistance of Ethnic Voting in Rural and Urban Areas" Social Science Quarterly 49 (March, 1969), 871-899.

22 Lee, Eugene C. The Politics of Non-Partisanship. Berkeley, California, University of California Press, 1960.

23 Ibid., p. 78.

24 For such excellent discussion of ecological analysis, particularly minimizing the blanket concept of ecological fallacy see Mattei Dogan and S. Rokkan (eds.) Social Ecology. Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 1969.

25 Rossi, "Trends in Voting Behavior Research: 1933-1963" in E. Dreyer and W. Rosenbaum (eds.) Political Opinions and Electoral Opinions. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1967, pp. 69-70.

26 U.S. Department of Commerce-Social and Economic Statistics. Characteristics of the Spanish Surname Population by Census Tract, for SMSA's in Arizona: 1970. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, April, 1974.

27 The study is a longitudinal one so precinct boundary changes and changes in precinct numbers were recorded in the historical record of precincts and traced with all the precinct maps from 1959 to the present.

28 As a result of political pressure by the Pima County Board of Supervisors, and community groups, the Census Bureau agreed to conduct a recount particularly in the Spanish-speaking areas of the county. Sufficient evidence was produced to indicate undercounting in Chicano barrios.

29 Two precincts were included with less than fifty percent population because of their proximity to dominant Chicano

precincts. These areas are undergoing a rapid influx of Chicano migration as the Chicano areas are expanding.

30 U.S. Bureau of the Census. Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States - March, 1975 (Current Population Reports PC-20-280) U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1975).

31 In 1958 Mr. Richard Salvatierra was the first Spanish surname person elected to the Tucson School District.

32 In 1975, a group of Mexican-American parents, Mexican-Americans for Equal Education, file a lawsuit against the school district for discriminatory practices toward Mexican-American children and ethnic isolation. The suit included eight points that dealt with lack of bi-lingual programs, desegration, staffing, curriculum, etc. Presently that suit has been enjoined by a similar NAACP suit and efforts are underway to reach an out of court settlement.

33 Mr. Raul Grijalva was the second Spanish surname person elected to the Tucson School Board in 1974. The combination of two seats available and a substantial increase in Anglo votes aided his successful campaign. Mr. Richard Salvatierra served on the board 1954-1958.

34 In the 1974, incumbent Hafley sought re-election and candidate S. Downing, previously unsuccessful candidate, had the whole-hearted support of the present school board majority. Thus, the conservative majority of the board endorsed these individuals and followed a recognizable pattern in candidate

recruitment for board members. See H. Zeigler and M. Jennings Governing American Schools. N. Scuituate, Mass.; Duxbury Press; 1974, pp. 39-53.

35 Utilizing demographic characteristics of precincts such as adult population, median income, educational attainment, % below poverty, etc. a factor analysis program was employed to tap underlying dimensions. As a result, four variables comprise the SES variable (% high school graduates, median income, % employed in white collar occupations, and degree of new residents in the precincts.) These scores were standardized and multiplied by the appropriate factor scores to give a total weighting.

36 See H. Halbert Multiple Discriminant Analysis for Studying Group Membership. College Park, Penn.: College of Agriculture. Penn State University (Bulletin 775), February 1971.

37 For a more intensive examination of variations of Chicano candidate support, see Garcia, John "Chicano Voting Patterns in School Board Elections: Bloc Voting and Internal Lines of Support for Chicano Candidates" Atisbos: Journal of Chicano Research (Winter 1976-7) Vol. 5.

38 See Cottrell, Charles, "Municipal Services Equalization and Internal Colonialism in San Antonio, Texas. Explorations in Chinatown" paper presented at Rocky Mountain Social Science Convention, April 24-26, 1975.

39 Blalock, Hubert, Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations. Capricorn Books: New York, pp. 126-130, 136-142, 150-154.